2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

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INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

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beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, carâ, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the Protestant school irrespective of the religious faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance of about 37 students. The wife of the manager of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established schools in all the larger Terena villages. At Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíainné*. Insofar as all things were believed to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

45. 1910, II:256.

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

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125 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
125 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in-
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

/126 cont./

*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

[361] [186] [571]

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

/129 cont./

*177 better recreation, and better education for their children.
369 This occurs as much by hearsay as by personal experience,
203 since it is unusual for the adult Terêna male to be unfamiliar
208 with Aquidauana or Campo Grande, to cite only the more
developed cities, which, on this account, can offer greater
[494] attractions. His mobility is very high: either he goes to town
[439] to make his purchases (since he gets cheaper articles there
than he does in the settlements strung out along the railroads),
or he passes through it on his way to work on fazendas or in
colônias away from his aldeas. On his return, he tells his
friends and relatives what he saw in the city, what /130/ he
did, and he illustrates his report with one or two gewgaws he
purchased. This "bringing" of the city little by little to the
aldea makes the community receptive to urban things and be-
gins to create an expectation, at first confused, but gradually
becoming clearer, in proportion as the advantages they can
369 offer become clearer. Naturally, this is not sufficient to draw
167 the Terêna from his aldea once and for all. The experiences
578 we had with the aldea population, especially with the
●181 Cachoeirinha community, show that the Terêna emigrates
only when he feels hostility on the part of his group or of the
superintendent of the native post, or else, when he does not
find the conditions necessary for his development. We have
an example of this in the move from Cachoeirinha of the
Indians, Alexandre and Lúcio, and from Ipegue, of the Indian,
Simão. The first two left with their families, respectively
for Miranda (on a farm close to the city) and for Araribá (an
aldea in São Paulo state) for different reasons: Alexandre,
because Cachoeirinha does not offer good conditions (pasture
land, water) for his cattle-raising, while at the same time he
no longer enjoyed the support of the man who was superintendent
at the time and he had quarreled with Captain Timóteo; as
[554] for Lúcio, regarded as the richest Indian in the aldea, and
for this reason envied and respected--for he even employed
on his plantations his own compatriots--, his recent move

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369 167 528 181 seems to be due rather to the fact that Cachoeirinha had become "small" for the development of his farm plots, than to the tension that existed between him and the community. (199)

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199. As we already mentioned in note 139, Lúcio, thanks to his past, had acquired a great sense of competition and highly organized working habits. Hence he felt that Cachoeirinha had nothing more to offer him, not only because he had no technical assistance, but also because he had heard that São Paulo offered the best possible opportunities to those with a capacity for work.

[233] The story of the Indian, Simão, is different: the owner of a rather large herd of cattle, some 250 head, he decided to try life in the city of Campo Grande, because Ipegue and Bananal could no longer hold such a large number of beeves belonging to a single owner; with the glaring lack of resources on the reservation, his compatriots became hostile toward him, slashing his cattle (usually on the ear) and complaining to the native post about the damage that "all those cows did to the farm plots, and no amount of fencing was enough...." Contrary to the two who left Cachoeirinha, /131/ but who went on doing the same work, Simão decided to try out the city, but was unsuccessful. (200) Nevertheless, the majority of the

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200. He bought a modest store (bolicho) and almost lost all his money there. The last time we saw him

369 /131 cont./ The last time we saw him in Campo Grande, he had bought a house, still tied up to estate inventory, and he was trying to salvage his money by hiring a lawyer.
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369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldea because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the
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201. As a source of such friction, an important role is played by the politico-religious division of the community. This is proved by the large numbers of individuals channeled from Bananal and Ipegue to Campo Grande and Aquidauana. While Bananal is in first place among the aldeas, with 23.91 per cent, Ipegue in second, with 18.11 per cent, the other aldeas are most insignificant, sending, in absolute figures, one or two individuals at the most.
[798]
[655]
[184]

162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas; it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the population that scattered before the creation of the native reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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/131 cont./

life represents a rise in their standard of living in relation to the aldea or fazenda, in terms of the salaries they draw, the greater ease with which they find work (because the labor market is broader), as well as the prospect of a richer and more varied recreational life (which is not always fulfilled) and the hope of giving their children a better education (which is generally fulfilled, not always in the schools but rather in the urban "praxis"). As the urbanization process seems to constitute a most effective mechanism of assimilation--as we saw in the last chapter--, the attraction exercised by the city over the Terêna can be regarded as a very important factor for their incorporation into the national society, which is to say, for their assimilation.

2. Military service is another important factor, but which, of course, applies only to the male population. It presents to the young Terêna prospects of new experiences, supplies them with a document that broadens considerably their possibilities of obtaining more stable employment, so that, eventually, when he returns to the aldea, /132/ the state of being a reservist is a constant source of prestige, especially in relation to younger men and to the young single women of the community.

From this desire to travel and to know new places--already pointed out in various studies on the mobility of tribal peoples in interethnic contexts--, (202) the young Terêna could

202. Cf., for example, in relation to Africa, I. Schapera, 1947:115 ff.; in relation to North America, Elizabeth Colson, 1953:158 ff. As for the role of military service, see especially Robert H. Ewald, 1957:164 ff. (Central America).

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
● 181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic liv-
ing together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
[640] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more de-
manding and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

Ga [621] "The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already